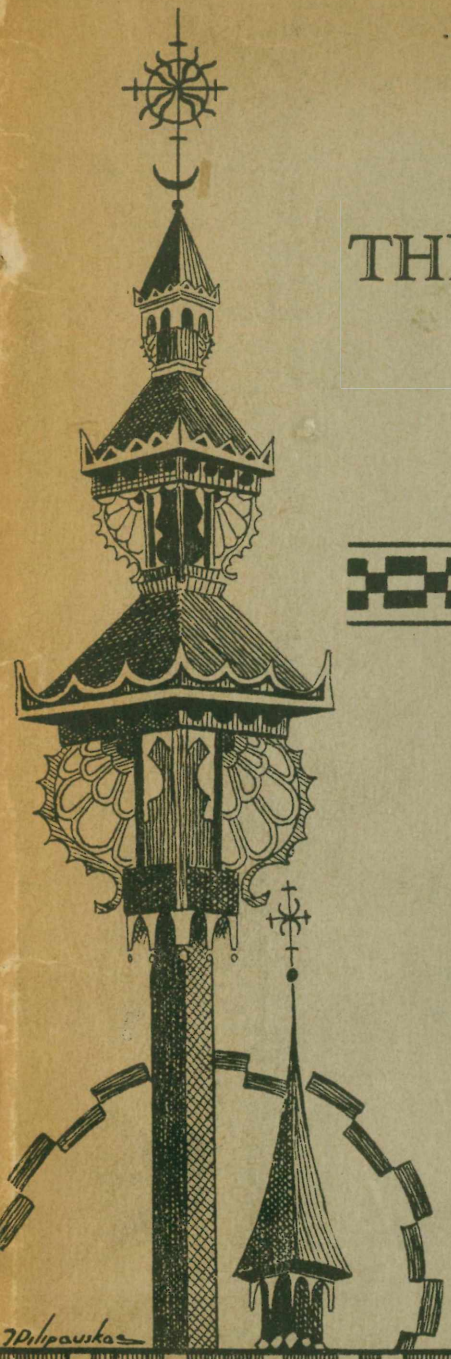

THE LITHUANIAN SITUATION

PROF. K. PAKŠTAS

The Lithuanian Situation

by

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NOTE:

This booklet describes the situation in Lithuania and, partly, in Latvia and Estonia, as it was under Soviet occupation (June 15, 1940 to June 22-29, 1941) and under the Nazi regime (July to December, 1941).

But the picture in the conquered countries is changing continually and in a few months the Lithuanian situation may change for the worse under German rule. In the very near future the Nazis will have organized more complete control of the Baltic States and with this,

Gestapo oppression and Lithuanian resistance to it will increase accordingly.

K. P.

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1. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE BALTIC NATIONS

Recent excavations undertaken by the Lithuanian and Latvian archeologists prove that the Eastern Baltic lands were inhabited by human beings as early as the beginning of the Mesolithic period or about 10,000 B. C.

There is no indication about the migration or racial change of that ancient population which, in the age of Bronze (1500 B.C.), split in two cultural zones: Northern and Southern. The northern zone appeared to be inhabited by Estonians and Lives; the southern, by Latvians, Lithuanians, and Prussians or Borussians. The Estonians, with the little nation of Lives, were linguistically very close to the Finns. The Lithuanians, Prussians and Latvians were speaking an entirely separate language of the Indo-European family. The Prussian language became extinct in the 17th century. In the territory between Danzig and Koenigsberg (East Prussia), it was replaced by the German. The Lithuanian language is the oldest spoken in Europe in the sense that it has the oldest grammatical forms, which are closely related to Sanscrit, Greek and Latin. Lithuanian and Latvian vocabularies are mostly based on common roots. This group of the two Baltic languages is entirely different from the Slavonic (Russian, Polish) and Germanic tongues.

The Roman historian Tacitus (52-117 A. D.) made the first recorded reference pertaining to the Baltic peoples. The real political history in the Eastern Baltic begins at the very end of the 12th century when these nations were attacked by the Scandinavians, Teutonic Knights and Slavs. Before that time the Baltic nations were divided into many small principalities, most of which were unable to resist the well organized Germanic onslaught. So the Estonians, Lives, Latvians, and Prussians were conquered by the Teutonic Knights; and only the Lthuanians, being in a central position, succeeded in uniting all their principalities under the leadership of energetic King Mindaugas (Mindowe). In 1236 they defeated the Germans in the first great battle of the united Lithuania. Soon after this victory the young Lithuanian state began its expansion to the East and South through the White Russian, Ukrainian, and Russian lands to Tartary and the Black Sea.

Between 1362 and 1494 the Lithuanian Empire was at the peak of its territorial expansion. Its frontiers extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It protected Western Europe from the

powerful Tartar Empire in the East. Most interesting to historians is the fact that this little pagan nation ruled ten times bigger Christian lands, covering about 350,000 square miles on which 56 million people live today. For this tremendous energy in creating this powerful Empire with a small army, Lithuanians were called the Vikings of the Continent. They gave a Lithuanian dynasty to Poland (1386) which ruled over both states (1430-1572). In 1569 Lithuania formed a Union or Confederation with Poland. There was a common king, but two separate governments with separate armies, money, custom duties, etc. In 1795 Lithuania and Poland lost their independence, having been divided by Austria, Germany, and Russia; the latter took nearly all of the Lithuanian territory. Four times (1812, 1831,-1863, 1904-5) Lithuania paid with her blood trying to reestablish her freedom, but none of these revolutions was successful.

In Estonia and Latvia, Lithuanians (1561-69), Poles,† and Swedes replaced Germans for some periods but finally both countries were conquered by Peter-the-Great of Russia (1721).

2. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND BOUNDARY PROBLEMS

The most often repeated mistake in the political writings of the last 20 years in the English language is that the Versailles Treaty created the Baltic States. Lithuania declared its independence February 16, 1918, at Vilnius (Vilna), Estonia did the same on February 24, and Latvia on November 18, 1918. The Lithuanian independence was recognized first by Germany (November 11, 1918) and later by Russia (July 12, 1920), when that country was defeated by its own revolution and by the small Baltic armies. At that time France and England were still under the spell of Russian Imperial diplomacy; they were opposed to Russian Bolshevism and still expected the reestablishment of the old indivisible Russian Empire. This is why the Versailles Treaty did not even mention the Baltic States. Great Britain and France granted *de jure* recognition to Estonia and Latvia on January 26, 1921 and to Lithuania on December 20, 1922. During the last

†) From 1569 to 1629 Latvia and Southern Estonia (Courland and Livonia) were the **condominium** of Poland and Lithuania.

two months of 1918, all of 1919, and the first half of 1920 the Baltic States were engaged in bloody war against the invading Soviet Russian imperialism and against the German divisions of General von der Goltz, which were unwilling to leave the country. Lithuania was attacked even from the south by Poland, which seized the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius October 9, 1920. On September 22, 1921, the Baltic States were admitted as members of the League of Nations.

Before 1920 there were no precise boundaries between the three Baltic States. Some sharp disputes arose concerning the mixed zones and the future boundaries. But the cold Nordic temperament prevented fratricidal wars between the Baltic peoples, and they decided to invite neutral arbiters from Great Britain to settle their mutual boundary problems. These arbiters were Col. Tallents for Estonia and Latvia and Sir James Simpson for Latvia and Lithuania. After this impartial settlement, the three Baltic States entered an era of mutual friendship and ever increasing cultural, economic, and political collaboration. Only the southern and eastern boundary of Lithuania remained undefined, as Poland refused to acceed to neutral arbitration. The League of Nations, Great Britain and some other nations strongly protested against Polish occupation of Vilnius, but this did not prevent Poland from retaining the most important city of Lithuania.

In protesting against the Polish occupation of the Lithuanian capital—Vilnius, Lithuania closed its demarcation line with Poland and kept it closed until the Polish ultimatum of March, 1938.

The only Lithuanian seaport, K l a i p ė d a (Memel), was separated by the Allies from Germany because its population was of Lithuanian origin and in majority still spoke the Lithuanian language. The small Klaipėda territory (over 1100 square miles and 140,000 inhabitants), was united with Lithuania after the rebellion of January 1923, but was granted very large administrative autonomy under the Lithuanian sovereignty. In this province there was a strongly organized German minority (41%), and this provided a pretext for Hitler to send money there for propaganda, to start a custom and transit war against Lithuania (1934-38) and take that territory from Lithuania on March 22, 1939. In this struggle for its seaport Lithuania received

warm sympathy from France, Great Britain, America, Poland, Scandanavia, but no real help against its many times stronger neighbor. Therefore, the Klaipėda region was ceded to Germany. *But with the approval of France and Great Britain, Lithuania has reserved her right to that territory for some future settlement, when the right will be decisive.* Soon after the German occupation, about 20,000 Lithuanians of the Klaipėda district were obliged to leave that country to seek freedom in Lithuania.

3. RUSSIAN INTRUSION IN OCTOBER, 1939

In May, 1939, there were persistent rumors in the Baltic that the future boundary between Russia and Germany would be the Duna River, giving Estonia and the nothern half of Latvia to Russia, and the rest of Latvia and Lithuania to Germany. But when the war broke out, the price of Russian help to Germany (in oil, grain, some metals) greatly increased, and Germany was obliged to cede to Russia all three Baltic States in addition to the Ukrainian and White Russian sections of Poland. Russia was always "friendly" to the Baltic States before September, 1939, because she was awaiting a better opportunity which could come only when the other great nations of Europe were in turmoil. At the end of September, 1939, she disclosed her real intentions in the Baltic region. Russia assembled a huge army of about one million near the Baltic boundaries and addressed the three Baltic States with separate ultimatums demanding still greater "friendship", namely: admission of Russian garrisons and occupation of strategic points in those countries.

The three Baltic States, with their six million people, in peace-time had an army of about 55,000, and in case of war, they could have mobilized about 600,000; but they could not provide arms, equipment, and munitions for more than 150,000. The Baltic States have no munition factories which could manufacture armaments larger than the ordinary rifles. The import of heavier armaments could have come only by the way of the Baltic Sea which is widest in their latitude (54° to 59°N) and entirely dominated by Russian and German navies. Unlike Finland, the Baltic States could not get any help in munitions or armaments from the outside world if the Baltic Sea is, as it was, blockaded. In these tragic circumstances, the Baltic States were

obliged by great Russian force to accept Soviet demands for strategic points, on the Soviet promise not to interfere with the political life and social structure of the Baltic Nations. In November, 1939, the mechanized units of the Russian army (about 125,000) were already established in strategic points of the three Baltic States. Juridically, the Baltic States were in the position of Cuba or Egypt, but the "protecting" partner was not the law-abiding Anglo-Saxon or Yankee. . . Instead, the small nations were controlled by an army of Asiatic mentality, representing a country that never in its history has observed the rights of smaller nations or even the liberties of its own people. Very soon, the Baltic States became the rabbits or guinea pigs in the vast Soviet laboratory of social experiment which has reduced even great and rich Russia to a combination of poor-house, prison and monastery, a huge concentration camp and militant autocratic state, always ready to start a war with some minor neighbor.

4. WHAT CAUSED THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION?

In distant countries many people are inclined to think that Russia badly needs the Baltic ports for her commerce with foreign countries. This is not true. Russia's most fertile soils and mineral-producing areas are located south and south-east of Moscow, much nearer to the Black Sea than to the Baltic. Therefore, very naturally, Russian commerce (import and export) during the last century was shifting more and more towards her ports on the Black Sea.

On the other hand, the ports of the Baltic States were always trying to get more Russian commerce, which has greatly diminished since the Bolshevik revolution. The Russian port of Leningrad, exporting largely bulky merchandise (lumber), has about 5 million net registered tons of entering ships. This is about equal to Danzig or Gdynia, but less than Copenhagen, Stockholm or Gothenburg. Russian foreign commerce was relatively the lowest in Europe. In 1937 the *per capita* export of the Baltic States was about $20.00; Poland's export, $6.40; and Russian, only $1.60. Russian transit through the Baltic States was negligible: in 1937 she exported 38,000 tons through Lithuania, 147,000 tons through Latvia, and only 290 tons

through Estonia. Altogether this totaled 185,290 tons. *Such a small amount could furnish sufficient turn-over for only one of the smaller of the nine ports in the Baltic States.* The Russian merchant fleet in 1938 had about 1,280,000 net registered tons, but the great majority of this tonnage was engaged in the Black Sea Basin, Far East, and White Sea commerce. The three Baltic States during the last ten years increased their merchant fleet to 380,000 net registered tons, and in 1938 they were dominating the eastern side of the Baltic. *So all economic arguments were against Russian acquisition of the Baltic ports, which will lose a large part of their commerce and have nothing in prospect to gain from Russia.*

From the military point of view, the danger of war in that region was greatly increased by liquidating the Baltic "buffer-states" and thus bringing into direct contact two great despotic and imperialistic powers: Germany and Russia.

The Baltic States had about 700 miles of common boundary with Russia. The Baltic nations kept their frontiers easily passable and encouraged the contact of their people with the foreign world by organizing many inexpensive excursions to study modern life in various European countries. Russian policy was exactly the opposite. Foreign passports were not given to private citizens. The boundaries with the Baltic States bristled with barbed wire, were crowned with watch-towers and search lights, and were guarded by soldiers and police dogs. But this was not enough to keep the people in the Soviet paradise: in 1934 capital punishment was introduced for illegal attempts to cross the boundary. Under the Czars this "crime" was punished by a few days of imprisonment.

Even such complete isolation did not prevent the spread of rumors in Russia about the freedom and the abundance of food and clothing in the Baltic States, which had been part of the same backward Russia only twenty years ago. Hearing these rumors, Stalin and other Soviet statesmen repeated their intention to destroy the Baltic States—the nest of "social infection."

When in November, 1939, Russian garrisons were introduced into the Baltic States, the impression they produced upon the Baltic workers and peasants was very negative. The number of amusing anecdotes inspired by bitter realities and by the

miserable appearance of the Russian soldiers was rapidly increasing. Russian contact with the local population caused Russians in some instances to lose their red color: Russian soldiers were becoming pink and white. There appeard a danger that the invading East would be conquered by the invaded West. When the Baltic Congress met in Tallinn on June 15, 1940, *to sign the project of the long prepared Baltic Federation,* Russia accused the Baltic States of not keeping to the letter of the treaties, and in a few hours she invaded the small countries, thus finishing the laboratory work, which was changing the pigmentation of the Russian garrisons. It would appear that the *social strategy* played a more important role here than the military one.

This is emphasized by impartial observations of a British diplomat, whose opinion we shall quote from *"Memorandum (No. 21) of Information on Foreign Affairs,"* issued by Imperial Policy Group, August, 1940:

"The lights have gone out in the three gallant little countries which just over twenty years ago won their independence after a hard struggle. Russia has annexed Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for two reasons. First, in order to improve her strategic position, and secondly, because she found *her garrisons in these countries dangerously influenced by the local inhabitants.* We have every reason to believe *this latter factor played a very important part.*

"The Russian garrisons were astonished to find that three small countries on the borders of the Soviet were living in totally different, and far better, conditions than those prevailing in Russia. The standard of living was higher, everybody had plenty of food, pleasure and freedom. All sections of the community had plenty of clothes, shoes and means of transport. There was no secret police, no spying by one member of a family upon another. Everything was different and dangerously attractive. Sooner or later men from the garrisons would have to be sent home on leave, and Kremlin feared the stories which might go with them, especially as Russia had sent to the Baltic States some of her most ill equipped and bedraggled soldiery—a fact which was very much commented upon by observers and, not least, by the inhabitants themselves.

"The methods used to bring about the annexation of these three countries were deplorable and purely aggressive. Space does not permit us to give the full story. The strength of the United States comment and protests about these events has been remarked upon in some quarters. The reason is that the American diplomatic missions in the Baltic were particularly well informed as to what happened and the methods used. They have so much documentary evidence to prove the aggressive character of Russian policy that they were able to give the State Department the most detailed information. They had been impressed with the remarkable progress made by these countries, the rising standard of living, the honorable progress made by the three Governments, and the general success which they had won in commercial and diplomatic relations with the outside world. All these facts were, we believe, very much stressed in the dispatches to Washington and convinced the administration there that this was a case for showing the unqualified disapproval of the United States.

"It is to be devoutly hoped that the British and United States policy respecting the Baltic States would be co-incident. We have reason to believe that any parting of the ways over this quite small affair would have the most unhappy consequences. Russia would not be sorry for it, and consequently there is the utmost pressure upon us to take a course of which, as the Kremlin knows, U. S. opinion would disapprove."

5. AGRICULTURE OF THE BALTIC STATES

The combined area of the Baltic States is about 80,000 square miles; this is about the size of South Dakota or 10% more than the six states of New England. The 1940 population of Estonia was 1,200,000; that of Latvia, 2,000,000; and of Lithuania (with the Vilnius region), 3,000,000. The total is 6,200,000 or about that of Texas, California, or Ohio.

The climate, fertility of the soil, and the landscape of the Baltic States resembles most nearly that of the State of Wisconsin. All three countries are important producers of rye, oats, barley, clover, potatoes, flax and such animal products as bacon, butter, eggs and poultry. Latvia and Lithuania have also

recently introduced sugar beet culture and increased wheat production as well as their orchards of fruit trees: apples, pears, cherries and prunes.

Forests and lumber exports are more important in Latvia with her 27 per cent forested area compared to Estonia's and Lithuania's 20 per cent.

During the last 20 years of independence Lithuania has increased her wheat production about 300 per cent, potato production 120 per cent, and that of other cereals — about 20 per cent. Nearly the same progress has been made by Estonia and Latvia. Lithuania has paid great attention to hog raising. An important success was achieved in first quality butter production which was also the main achievement of Latvia and Estonia.

6. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Estonia alone among the three states has little mineral producing area. From the Estonian oil—shale about 110,000 tons of oil were extracted annually. The rapids in the important rivers, like Narva and Daugava (Duna), are harnessed to produce cheap electricity for domestic and industrial purposes. Having no useful minerals, the Baltic States were building their industries mostly on the basis of agriculture and lumber. Six slaughter-houses were built in Lithuania and some ir Latvia and Estonia. Lithuania has built an entirely new textile industry with about 10,000 workers. Lithuania and Latvia each have built three sugar factories. In all three countries there were hundreds of small flour mills, creameries, wood factories, etc.

All slaughter-houses and 7000 creameries in the Baltic States were established by very progressive co-operative societies. These same societies possessed almost a monopoly of exporting meat, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, cereals, flax, and of importing agricultural machinery and fertilizers. Their turn-over suggests a gigantic business considering the modest size of the Baltic States.

The first place in the trade of Lithuania and Estonia belongs to Great Britain, second place to Germany. In Latvian commerce, first place was taken by Germany, second by Great

Britain, third by Belgium, and fourth by the United States. Most of the automobiles in the Baltic States were imported from U. S. A.

Lithuania exported thousands of live animals of improved stock (cows and hogs) to Russia, where they were in great demand. After twelve months of Russian occupation, this advanced animal husbandry was already close to disorganization and ruin, the number of domestic animals has been reduced to about 50%.

7. EDUCATION AND PRESS

Even before 1914 the Baltic nations, then under the Russian Imperial government, possessed a higher degree of education than the Russians. When these three nations attained their independence by their own blood they saw new prospects for their national culture and education. Thousands of schools were organized and illiteracy reduced rapidly. Illiteracy for the year of 1939 could be estimated at about 4% in Estonia, 11% in Latvia and 15% in Lithuania. The last two countries have larger Slavonic minorities (14% in Latvia and about 12% in Lithuania) which are about 50% illiterate.

The TEMPO of progress in education in the Baltic States can be adequately illustrated by the Lithuanian example. At the beginning of her independence in 1919, illiteracy in Lithuania was over 60%; in 1939 it was only 15%. In 1911 schools were attended by 31% of school age population, in 1939 they were attended by 99%.

LITHUANIA	1911-1919	1939
Illiteracy among the population over 10 years	64%	15%
School attendance by the school age population	31%	99%
Pupils in the grammar schools	74,000	400,000
Students in high schools and colleges	5,000	30,000
Students in special schools (agricultural, technical, commercial)	1,600	11,500
Number of universities and institutes	0	8
Students in universities and institutes	0	6,000
Number of Lithuanian periodical publications	25	260
Number of books published (volumes) about	200	1,400

The periodical press was strongest in Latvia on account

of her larger cities (Riga: 400,000 population, largest daily newspaper circulation over 100,000). The largest Lithuanian and Estonian daily papers had about 30,000 to 40,000 subscribers; weekly papers for farmers, between 50,000 and 100,000.

Monthly and quarterly magazines and reviews represented practically all branches of human culture: science, philosophy, religion, literature, history, technology, medicine, economics, etc.

8. THE FATE OF THE HIGHER CULTURE OF LITHUANIA

Like every cultured nation, Lithuania paid for her independence with blood and long suffering not merely to have her soldiers and policemen dressed in different uniforms, for such superficial signs could not justify the noble sacrifice of her best sons and daughters. Culturally mature Lithuanians felt that they had the necessary will and the sacred right *to take full and complete responsibility for the fate and future of their nation and their country.* They lived in confidence that the Lithuanian nation had the right and the duty to become equal and free in the great family of other nations. Speaking a language of the oldest forms, extremely rich and sonorous, and having created the greatest treasure of original songs and folk-lore, the Lithuanian nation was always conscious of her original culture. The treasures of her language, containing many mysteries of Indo-European languages and of the early history of Europe, attracted studious attention of the savants of many nations, such as Herder, Schleicher, Emmanuel Kant, Meillet, Niemi, Bodouin de Courtenay, Fortunatov and many others. The younger generation of Lithuanian intellectuals were confident that the hour was not very far distant, when this nation would acquire sufficient cultural force to make a very precious addition to European philosophy, literature and art, to which they had already contributed a great wealth of sounds, colors, and sweet and powerful words.

Lithuania, like every other nation, soon succeeded in raising the level of popular culture, founding several thousands of new schools and rapidly diminishing illiteracy. But the higher culture is a very delicate plant. Climbing to the highest summits

of culture is always more difficult, and progress becomes slow. But in this noble mountaineering the Lithuanian nation clearly demonstrated its great initiative and creative force. Let us be reminded that the famous University of Vilnius (Vilna) was closed by Russians in 1832 and that from that time until 1920 no institution of higher learning was permitted to be established. There was no regular Lithuanian theater, nor museum. After 1907, there was published only one Lithuanian scientific and literary magazine, "Draugija" ("Society") monthly. But after 20 years of independence, this nation of three million peasants already had 8 schools of higher learning (1939-40):

University of Kaunas
University of Vilnius
Academy of Agriculture at Dotnuva
Institute of Commerce at Klaipėda (Memel)
Institute of Education at Klaipėda
School of Arts at Kaunas
Conservatory of Music at Kaunas
Veterinarian Academy at Kaunas

In all these institutions about 6000 students studied under 250 professors and 300 lecturers and assistants. Every faculty published from one to four scientific reviews. This is the evidence that those institutions do not belong to the majority of the world's universities which give only professional instruction and furnish young people with necessary diplomas and degrees. Lithuanian universities and institutes were in the smaller group of universities which create science and the arts and increase mankind's cultural treasure.

Scientific and literary magazines were published not only by the institutions of higher learning, but also by various cultural societies and other institutions. Here we shall mention only a few of those magazines.

General Culture

In the field of general culture there were published eight magazines of national importance. Among these the most scientific was "Tauta ir Žodis" (The Nation and the Word), but more general and most influential was "Židinys" (The

Fireplace), which had no rival in influence and importance in all the Baltic States. It was edited by a very refined and cultured young man, Dr. Ignas Skrupskelis, a much sought-after guest in all political and cultural circles. Now he is in a Russian prison, and his fine family is struggling in the utmost hardship. All these magazines were also liquidated by the Russians.

Philosophy

For the advancement of philosophical science Lithuanians were publishing two magazines: "Logos" and "Eranus." "Logos" was founded by the well-known Lithuanian encyclopedian and scholar Prof. P. Dovydaitis, who was deported to Siberia. "Eranus" was edited by Prof. I. Tamošaitis, who was arrested by the Russians. The greatest philosopher of the Lithuanian nation, Prof. Stasys Šalkauskis, lost his position in the University of Kaunas, where he was the president before the Russian conquest. He died recently at the age of 55. The fate of other philosophers is not known, except one (Dr. A. Maceina) who dramatically escaped with his wife and two little children through the Russian guards to Germany. Philosophical magazines have been liquidated.

Theology

The field of theology was explored by three magazines, among which was the purely scholarly "Soter" founded by the previously mentioned Prof. P. Dovydaitis. "Soter" had many contributors among the professors of Western European universities. The Russian conquerors not only liquidated these magazines but they also closed the Theological Faculty of the University of Kaunas and four theological seminaries at Kaunas, Vilnius, Vilkaviškis and Telšiai. The seminaries of Vilnus and Kaunas have had great historical importance, as they educated many prominent clergymen famous in the religious activities and the literature of the Lithuanian nation. Their old libraries have been destroyed, and it is feared that many of their rare and precious books have been burned or will disappear in Russia, where the voluminous historical archives of Vilnius (Vilna) have been moved in greatest disorder. Of course, theologians of various religions have no means of existence under Russian occupation, which recognizes only one official

and largely compulsory religion which is "militant dialectical materialism" strongly supported by police and government money.

Social Science

There were nine magazines devoted to the progress of such social sciences as economics, law, and administration. Three of these were published by the University of Vilnius and were of purely scientific character: "Ekonomika," "Teisė" (Law) and "Teisių Fakulteto Darbai" (The Works of the Faculty of Law). The fate of these nine publications is not known, and, since the Russian occupation, none of the editors' friends in America have received any letter from them.

Education

In the field of education (pedagogical science) there were four magazines. Three of these have been liquidated by the Russians; the fate of the fourth is not known at present, as correspondence with occupied Lithuania has become almost impossible. Intellectuals fear to write even ordinary letters to foreign countries.

Ethnology, Language

In the domain of ethnology and language, Lithuania had four important scientific magazines: "Mūsų Tautosaka" (Our Folklore), "Tautosakos Darbai" (The Works of Folklore), "Archivum Philologicum" and "Kalba" (Language). Nothing is known about the fate of these four reviews. Their scientific value was of the greatest to the Lithuanian nation as no foreign university or institution could do the work, which requires a profound knowledge of Lithuanian language, folklore, and ethnological questions much more accessible in Lithuania and to Lithuanians. European philological science has always been greatly interested in Lithuanistics, as can be seen from numerous studies by German, Finnish, Russian, French, Swiss, Scandinavian and Polish scholars.

Natural Sciences

Natural science had three serious representatives in Lithuania, among which the oldest and most important was "Kosmos" founded and edited by the well-known Prof. Pranas

Dovydaitis. "Kosmos" was the best of its kind in the Baltic States. But its printing has now been stopped, though the other two publications were allowed to be published as not dangerous to the militant dialectical materialism strongly advocated by the Soviet government.

Applied Sciences

Applied sciences had nine organs in Lithuania; three for medicine, three for technical sciences, and three for agriculture and forestry. Nothing is known about their fate under the Russian occupation, but it is very probable that the majority of these will be allowed to publish under the condition that Stalin and his government find some compliments in their pages. Usually the applied sciences are in better favor in Soviet than humanities.

Fine Arts, Music and Sports

Fine arts, music and sports had seven magazines in Lithuania. Probably they will be allowed to be published under the new and orthodox communist imported leadership.

Literature

Literature was served by the two important reviews devoted mostly to the history (especially "Atheneum") and criticism of literature. Both were published by universities. Poets and writers had three voluminous reviews of their own to publish their works in poetry, novels, drama, etc. Under Russian occupation all these reviews and magazines had been closed and writers have stopped their creative work. Last winter the Russian government was trying to get favorable declarations for their regime from most of the Lithuanian writers by intimidation. Some of these declarations have been published recently, but the effect was negligible because nobody believes that a Liberal, Catholic, or Nationalist writer would change his ideology over night. Lithuanian writers, together with their people, strongly and decidedly stand for a free and independent Lithuania and the Russian regime is a nightmare and the worst kind of slavery for 98% of the Lithuanian nation.

Fifty five scientific magazines of Lithuania were on the top of the pyramid of human culture, while two hundred popular periodicals were spreading the fruits of culture among

the masses. The scientific press enjoyed complete liberty; the political articles, however, experienced some difficulties with censorship. The number, the variety, serious content and attractiveness of the scientific press was the most evident demonstration of the vitality and productivity of the Lithuanian intellect. After a visit to the exposition of the Lithuanian press an outsider would be inclined to think that he had seen the cultural wealth of a nation of some ten or fifteen million rather than of the three million Lithuanians.

The noble crown of this intellectual tower of Lithuania is "The Lithuanian Encyclopedia" (when finished it would have about 20 big volumes). It is printed in 12,000 copies by private subscription, and can be considered as a certificate of the cultural maturity of the nation. And all these cultural achievements have been accomplished in twenty years and with very modest material resources of a devastated country. This was only the beginning of cultural acceleration. Everybody felt that the near future was smiling with even brighter promise. It is very obvious that twenty years were not enough to heal the wounds of six years of war (1914—1920), to replace 500,000 people lost in that war, and to educate thousands of new intellectuals.

Other Cultural Institutions

Some other institutions were also at the service of higher culture of Lithuania. In first place among them we have to mention "The Institute of Lithuanistics" created recently for the study of Lithuanian history, language, folklore, and ethnography, which are of the greatest importance to the Lithuanian nation. This Institute was still existing, but it was painted in red Russian colors and deprived of freedom in scientific exploration.

In twenty years Lithuanians had founded about a dozen smaller historical and cultural museums in various towns. But international importance and fame could be accorded only to The Museum of Vytautas the Great built in 1930-33 in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the death of that monarch, founder of the Lithuanian Empire from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In this vast palace several museums are located: the Museum of War, and the Museum of Culture,

combininig three sections: history, ethnology and the Čiurlionis Gallery. Lithuania has always been noted for her beautiful carved wooden crosses and wayside shrines, with wonderful figures of the saints carved by the peasants in their free winter evenings. Hundreds of these shrines were destroyed during the World War, but many hundreds of new ones had been set up in the last twenty years. Many hundreds of these very original statues were collected and placed in the Museum of Culture. According to the last information these unique treasures of old popular art had been burnt by the Russians. It is to be feared that many valuable documents and pictures were taken to Russia without any expectation or possibility of getting them back to Lithuania.

The Lithuanian Opera was considered one of the best in Europe. Its soloists were invited to many great cities of Europe and South America. The Opera and Dramatic Theatre were still functioning under Russian occupation, but their repertoire was hideously impregnated with Russian plays of bolshevik propaganda glorifying the proletarian imperialism.

Tremendous damage to Lithuanian culture and to the nation's future has been done by the liquidation of hundreds of the most able and energetic students in the universities. Lithuanian university students were always in very friendly contact with the students of Scandinavia and Western Europe, where they very often went to specialize in their profession. Thus they had the chance to see better models of cultural life and progress and felt strong cultural relationship with the dynamic Western Europe, and they highly appreciated the great treasures and genius of the European culture. Since June, 1940, they were hermetically enclosed in a semi-barbaric state without any possibility of seeing the better world. They were forced to turn their eyes Eastward where cultural stagnation, dull monotonous life and dogmatic despotism dominate in every corner. Marxian—Leninist ideology does not permit ideological variety and difference of opinion in philosophy, religion, sociology and politics. And very numerous dissidents in all Baltic States were being liquidated with unheard of cruelty and atrocity.

The younger generation of Lithuanian scholars and students were energetically preparing to realize the idealistic

dream of this generation: to raise the Lithuanian culture and well-being of the whole nation to the level of Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Their bright ideal was to found a Cultural Empire in the little Lithuanian area with modest material means. And this sweet dream, coming always nearer and nearer to reality, made their hard life a beautiful banquet and cheerful festival. But after the Bolshevik invasion the picture of all the Baltic States was that of economic, moral and intellectual ruin reminiscent of old Russia under the Mongolian yoke in the 13th and 14th centuries. At that time Lithuania had enough strength to deliver about one half of Russia from the Tartar slavery, but now who will help the Baltic States to regain their sweet lost liberty and peaceful life? Their anguished eyes are turned towards the gallant democracies of Great Britain and America. Their hope is in the victory of a Free Man and in their own holocaust and crucifixion for the redemption of the lost paradise of liberty and human dignity.

9. ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION

Popular opinion sometimes tends to classify nations according to their "pros." Thus, we now hear about the Spaniards as being pro-Germans, Portuguese as pro-English, etc. What about the orientation of the Baltic nations?

This problem is more complicated than the popular mind would think. The Baltic PRO must be divided into at least three different domains of human interest: ECONOMIC, CULTURAL and POLITICAL.

a) ECONOMIC ORIENTATION. The Baltic States have always been more willing to deal with Great Britain than with any other great European power, because British commerce was less dominated by politics and the British nation had no imperialistic designs in Northern Europe. Furthermore, British subjects were accustomed to eat only the best quality of bacon, butter and eggs, and this demand for the best products spurred the initiative of the Baltic nations to improve the quality of their products and to get better prices for them. *Commerce with Great Britain tended to speed up the progress of agriculture,*

of organized cooperative commerce, and standardization of products. This was the cause of the success of British commerce in the Baltic. Exports which could find no place in the British market were usually divided among many other countries mostly Germany, Russia, Belgium, United States, France, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia and Sweden. This dispersion of export and import was justified by the very sad experience of the Baltic States with Germany and Russia, where commerce very often must serve various political purposes and can be abruptly turned against any nation which does not comply with German or Russian political designs in some particular region.

b) CULTURAL ORIENTATION of the Baltic States was determined partly by their different historical backgrounds and by their slightly different cultural and religious ideologies. Estonia is 78% Lutheran and 19% Greek Orthodox with the best reminiscences of the Swedish rule in that country in the 17th century. Latvia is 55% Lutheran and 25% Roman Catholic with very bad memories of the German domination since the beginning of the 13th century and during the World War from 1914—18. Lithuanian population is about 80% Roman Catholic and 5.5% Lutheran. It is highly suspicious of Poland's intentions, springing from the unfortunate Union or Confederation of these two states (1569-1795), and particularly from the embittered relations caused by the Polish occupation of the Lithuanian capital Vilnius (1920—1939).

All three nations maintain strong cultural ties with Sweden, Great Britain and France. The English language is the first foreign language in the schools of Latvia and Estonia, German being the second, and Russian the third. Before the Hitler era, Lithuania's first foreign language was German. When German propaganda directed its powerful attention to Lithuania this country introduced (1935) the French language as the first in all secondary education. English occupied the second place, and the third was left to German. As the languages in the schools are not selected by the decision of the government alone, this problem being previously discussed by press and numerous societies, so in this decision one can see the real reflection of enlightened public opinion.

The Russian language is fairly well known by the intellectuals who are over 40 years old, in some cases even

those who are five to ten years younger. But since 1915—1918 the Baltic nations did not study the Russian language any more. All their cultural interests during the last 22 years were concentrated *exclusively* in Western Europe. Among the poorer classes Russian Bolshevism has had some sympathizers; judging by several free elections to the parliaments of these countries, sympathizers of Communism in Latvia were about 10%, in Estonia about 7%, and in Lithuania about 5%. But these sympathies were based on theoretical deductions and very intensive and careful Russian propaganda. Since the 15th of June, 1940, these theories have become the practice of life, the sidelights of which was the complete absence of civil liberties and great difficulties to get new shoes, overcoats or ham and eggs. And the number of Communists in the Baltic States was rapidly decreasing. According to the official Soviet report of January 1, 1941, the number of Communists in Lithuania was only 2504, two thirds of them being non-Lithuanians.

In Europe cultural and political sympathies usually decrease with the increase of the national minority of respective imperialistic neighbor. This is true also for the Baltic States. For example, the German minority in Estonia was only 1.5%, and Germany was not an immediate neighbor, thus Estonia was more friendly with Germany. Latvia had 4% Germans and Lithuania (before March 22, 1939 when Klaipėda was seized by Germany) about 4%; naturally these two states were suspicious of the German *irridenta* and did not intend to take Germany as a cultural or political guide. The Russian minority in Estonia is 8%, in Latvia 10% and in Lithuania only 2.5%, and it was evident that there was more suspicion about Russia in Estonia and Latvia than in Lithuania. Since October, 1939, Lithuania had a Polish minority about 7% strong and if this minority would decide to start an irridentist movement, Polish—Lithuanian relations could be spoiled again, after appreciable improvement since the return of Vilnius to Lithuania took place.

c) POLITICAL ORIENTATION of the Baltic States had no definite stability or precision. Their safety was based on peaceful conditions in Europe. Every great war could be mortally dangerous to these small states. Politically they had no point for orientation, because none of the great powers was really

interested in defending their independence. On the East side of the Baltic there was a desire for a larger Baltoscandian Confederation which would include Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The representatives of all seven of these states were regularly meeting in *"The Conference for Cultural Collaboration of the Nordic and Baltic States."* But the program of these conferences did not include purely political or defense problems, for the Scandinavian nations before late 1939 were too sure that their safety and neutrality was in a better position than that of the Eastern Baltic nations. The first year of the war proved their mistake. Seven United Baltoscandian States would have over 24 millions of people and sufficient resources to build a serious defensive system to resist Russian invasion and to persuade Germany that the attack on Baltoscandia would not be easy and remunerative.

10. THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM AND AUTOCRACY

Common public opinion classifying various countries on the basis of freedom accorded to their citizens finds only two species of states: democracies and dictatorships. But the political geographer, after longer observation of social life and political structure in about thirty states, is tempted to introduce a third species of states, namely: semi-democracy or semi-dictatorship. This species could be better illustrated by the now overturned states of the Baltic.

If the United States, Switzerland, Holland and Canada could be classified as complete or "absolute" democracies and marked with the zero degree of autocracy, the other extreme and opposite type of government — Soviet Russia — certainly could be designed with 100% autocracy or absence of freedom. Between these two extremes we should find a great majority of other states of the world. Personal experience of at least one month in each of the below mentioned countries, conversations with their people and the study of their press tempts me to classify some states according to their degree of

autocracy and to give them the following marks, which of course lack precision:

Soviet Russia	100%	Lithuania 1939	40%
Germany about	80%	Russia 1904-14	30%
Italy	70%	Germany 1914	20%
Latvia	65%	Lithuania 1920-26	10%
Lithuania 1927-38	60%	U.S.A., Switzerland,	
Poland	55%	Holland, Canada	0%
Estonia	50%		

For the basis to constitute the degree of autocracy of the government I took at least five criteria: *freedom of speech, of association, of press, of education and of religion.* In the Baltic States semi-private criticism of the head of the government was not dangerous, the press was censored, but various political groups were allowed to have their own periodicals. In 1937 in Lithuania there were 6612 various cultural organizations belonging to *the three main ideologies,* neutral, or mixed. But political parties were not permitted in all three Baltic States. There was no state monopoly in education, organizations of different ideologies and national minorities were allowed to have their schools in all three states effectively subsidized by their governments. There was no state religion in any of the Baltic States, but all religious denominations were very modestly supported by government finance in proportion to the number of followers of each denomination. Despite some minor restrictions on liberty of political propaganda and on activities of political parties of opposition, the Baltic States could not be classified as pure dictatorships. The ponderous Nordic mentality and serious character of the Baltic nations remodeled and reshaped the theoretical structure of dictatorship into restricted democracy or semi-democracy. Since the end of March, 1939, the Lithuanian government was composed of a coalition of the three largest parties in the country and was preparing a careful return to the complete democracy of 1918-26.

Nearly all important statesmen, all leading intellectuals and the most active university students in the Baltic States are the sons and daughters of the small farmer class which is essentially democratic. After the radical agrarian reform of 1920-25, landed nobility had lost the major part of its land and its social or political influence. A great part of commerce.

finance and some industries are organized on a co-operative basis, greatly restricting the growth of private capital. The city bourgeoisie is not numerous enough to rely on itself and overlook the general interests of the small farmers overwhelming masses, which in Lithuania compose about 70%, in Latvia 60% and in Estonia 58%. Their social and economic structure tends to strengthen the Baltic democracy, which is of its own, peasant type. Only the danger of neighboring dictatorships has altered these democracies to make them more resistant and disciplined in case of foreign aggression. But even this compromise form of government was not strong enough to oppose the gigantic size of the new Russian militarism. And the three peasant democracies were obliged to stop their song and their dreams about the better future and national freedom on the amber shores of the melancholic Baltic Sea.

11. THE SITUATION UNDER THE RUSSIAN TYRANNY

As the Baltic States were not at war with any other country and were occupied by cunning policy and the enormous army of Russia — what may be their present situation?

1. The three Baltic States were among the dozen most intellectual nations of Europe. Their intellectuals with university and college diplomas numbered about 120,000. Mass arrests of these individuals were promoted by the famous Russian Cheka on July 11, 1940, or about ten days before "free" elections to the local parliaments whose duty it was to vote for a union with Russia. In the nine months about 50,000 intellectuals and more independently minded peasants have been liquidated. Thus, without even being belligerents, the Baltic States probably had more casualties than the British army in the same period. And those casualties afflicted the very skillfully selected leaders of society of various political affiliations, Christian democrats, liberals, conservatives, socialists, nationalists, etc. This proves that it is *much better to be at war with Russia,* like Finland, *than in a very close friendship,* as the Baltic States have been. Finland lost a number of average men; the Baltic States were losing a class that will be impossible to replace in less than 20 or 30 years.

2. The Baltic States have lost all their free institutions: liberal professors and teachers were gradually dismissed, all

private schools closed, their property confiscated. All newspapers and printing shops were confiscated. *Nothing was allowed to be published which did not please the Communist party.* All free societies, organizations, and clubs were closed and their property confiscated. Non-Communist meetings were strictly forbidden. Political discussions in company of three or four were very dangerous in restaurants or on the streets, for everywhere you could meet the everpresent and omnipotent spy. The clergy was reduced to a humiliating position and deprived of its very modest property. The prominent men in public life were imprisoned and their prison windows were sealed with bricks and some ingenious tortures applied to them.

3. Some large farms were left in the Baltic States after the democratic agrarian reform of 1920-25, but in very rare cases did they exceed 200 acres and never more than 375 acres. The Russian Soviet system has *TEMPORARILY* left not more than 70 acres to farmers, not more than 25 acres to teachers, and not more than 7 acres to clergymen. For the first time in their life, farmers were unable to get fertilizers and were not permitted to kill any domestic animals for their own use without government permission. Scores of restrictions began to afflict the life of the farmer and workman both in the country and city.

4. All better apartments and homes were sequestrated for the use of the huge Russian army, and Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian residents were forced to move out in a few hours without permission to take their furniture. Thousands of intellectuals and workmen were left without shelter. Those who tried to express their dissatisfaction were sent to concentration camps in remote Siberia and Central Asia, and *nobody was allowed to be interested in their fate, nor to extend to them any help in their last struggle for mere animal existence.*

5. In a very short time industrial efficiency had been decreased about 50 or 60%. Food and clothing disappeared from the stores and were not permitted to be bought without special permission. Permission was also necessary to rent a room. To get those permits took many hours of waiting in the streets or in overcrowded corridors of newly-created bureaucratic offices of the new regime.

6. The natural increase of population in Estonia (average of 1935-37) was only one per thousand; in Latvia, four per

thousand; and in Lithuania, nine to ten. But the Russians increase their race by all means and on all occasions to the rate of 20 per thousand. When the Baltic nations lost too many people in prisons and concentration camps, their place were to have been taken by imported Russians. These tragic prospects were much discussed recently in Baltic emigrant circles in the United States and in Western Europe. The emigrees envy the American buffalo in Yellowstone, and they would like to get a little reservation somewhere for a very rare species with a great treasure of original culture in the million of their songs, which were forbidden to be sung in their native land, in the incomparable beauty of their language with its many secrets of prehistoric life of Northern Europe, and in their manifold fine arts and crafts which have been already recognized as one of the finest human achievements in Europe. Yes, if there is no chance of liberation in a few years, certainly the Baltic refugees will ask some great and generous nation to give them some little space for their reservation.

12. GIGANTIC SOVIET DEPORTATIONS OF LITHUANIANS TO SIBERIA 1)

The first partial list of Lithuanian deportees, compiled by the Lithuanian Red Cross in Kaunas, Lithuania, under the supervision of Dr. Garmus, has reached the American shores. Dr. Garmus is head of the Lithuanian Red Cross, who assumed that important post during the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. To gather information about apprehended people was not an easy task during the Soviet regime; nor is it any easier now under the German occupation, when movements of persons are severely restricted. But Dr. Garmus kept close watch on GPU activities in Lithuania to get all possible data on crowded prisons, concentration camps and movements of freight trains carrying deportees, and he organized several scouting excursions. It is estimated that the number of deported Lithuanians is at least 60,000. The first list brings us the names of 750 persons. Examining the list closer, we see that:

1) Extract from "The Lithuanian Situation, No. 8, Oct. 30, 1941, compiled by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington. D. C.

a. Most of them come from Vilnius and Kaunas prisons.

b. Nos. 110 to 401 are prisoners from the ill-fated Lukiškis prison in Vilnius.

c. The list contains 119 executed persons, 30 doubtful and 601 deported. 27% of those deported are women and children.

d. Classified according to occupations, this list of 750 persons represents:

Labor group	283	or about 38%
Other employees	117	or about 15%
Military	79	or about 11%
Professionals	144	or about 19%
Miscellaneous	127	or about 17%

e. Among the professionals, the hardest hit were priests, agronomists and physicians. *Out of 24 priests in the list 21 were executed;* among deportees, school teachers were predominant.

f. Families were disrupted, children were separated from their parents.

From the same Lithuanian Red Cross source we learn of the plight of former officials of the Lithuanian republic. Among the unfortunate prisoners of Solovki Islands in the White Sea are:

Mr. Antanas Merkys, Prime Minister,
Mr. Juozas Urbšys, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
General Skučas, Minister of Interior,
Mr. Povilaitis, Director of Surety Department.

This information was revealed by Col. S. Leonas, former Minister of Interior of Lithuania, who himself had been prisoner in the Solovetzki Concentration Camp, but was brought to Kaunas for trial just before the Soviet-German war.

The whereabouts of former officials like Mr. Alexander Stulginskis, second President of the Lithuanian Republic, and family, Prof. Augustine Voldemaras, who had held the office of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Konstantinas Šakenis, last President of the Lithuanian Seimas (Parliament) and his family, Mr. Kazys Bizauskas, former Deputy-Premier, Prof. P. Dovydaitis, Dr. J. Skrupskelis, and 2,000 teachers is unknown.

A grave question arises: whether any one in the world can save the lives of all Baltic deportees and especially those in mortal danger on Solovetzki Island? Even the oldest Lithuanian (Mr. Survila 115 years old) was deported to Siberia.

According to markings put on passports by the Russian G.P.U. agents, about 50% of the total population of Lithuania was scheduled to be deported to Siberia. Deportations were planned to be effected in three or four operations, subject to war conditions and the availability of freight cars. However, the Russian bolsheviks succeeded in carrying out only the first operation, between June 14 and June 18, 1941, when 871 freight cars, loaded with human cargo, each car holding 40 to 70 persons, were shipped to Siberia.

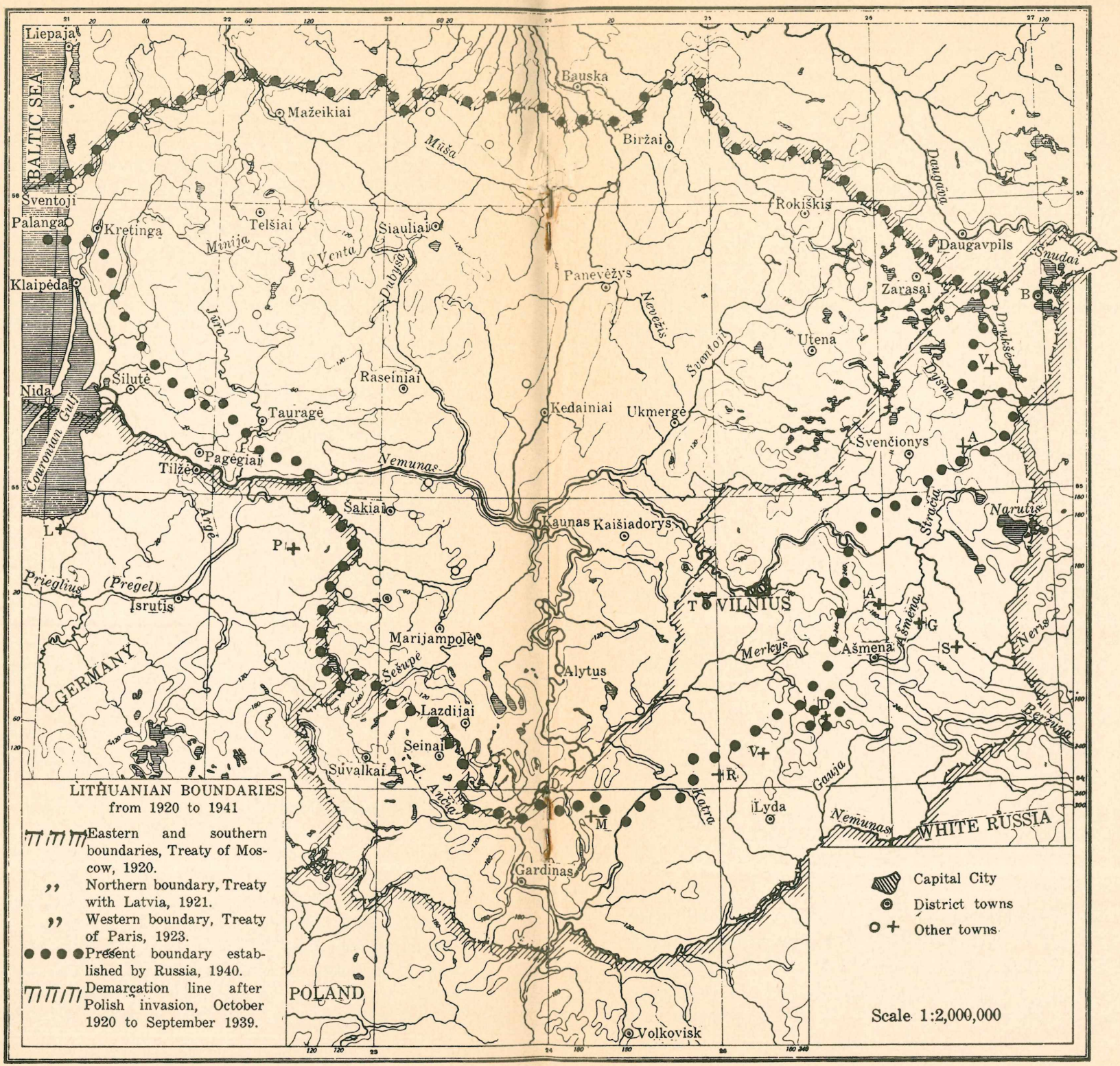
Soviet Russia, though now fighting for her own life, is, nevertheless, under obligation to release, compensate and provide a safe return to thousands of men, women and children deported from Lithuania and the other Baltic States. The Soviets have had by this time sufficient opportunity themselves to appreciate the meaning of foreign invasion.

13. THE RED WAR ON RELIGION

Soviet Russia is the atheistic ideocratic state with its own official "religion" which is "the Militant Dialectical Materialism." This religion is strongly supported by government money, by all government offices, army, numerous police, by all degrees of schools, by all newspapers and organizations. All other religions and philosophical ideologies are oppressed by the omnipotent government bureaucracy. The elaborate methods of persecution used in Russia for 23 years were also introduced in the three Baltic States soon after their conquest in June, 1940.

The bolsheviks stripped the old Baltic churches of all valuable objects. The explanation given by some of the bolsheviks for this deed was that the objects were needed for the "bezbozhnik" (atheist) museums in Moscow.

Chicago Tribune Press Service reports from Tallinn on September 13, 1941: "Riding in farm carts three Lutheran pastors arrived here today to conduct services in churches which have been *without ministers for many months*. With the release of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania from Russian rule, 7,000,000 persons now are free to attend religious services.


Liepaja
BALTIC SEA
Bauska
Mažeikiai
Biržai
Sventoji
Palanga
Kretinga
Telšiai
Šiauliai
Rokiškis
Daugavpils
Snudai
Klaipėda
Panevėžys
Zarasai
B
Utena
Nida
Šilutė
Raseiniai
Kedainiai
Ukmergė
Švenčionys
A
Tauragė
Pagėgiai
Tilžė
Nemunas
Šakiai
Kaunas
Kaišiadorys
Narutis
L
P
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Įsrutis
GERMANY
T VILNIUS
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G
S
Marijampolė
Merkys
Alytus
Lazdijai
D
Seinai
Suvalkai
V
R
Lyda
M
Gardinas
WHITE RUSSIA
POLAND
Volkovisk
Minija
Venta
Dubysa
Jūra
Nevėžis
Šventoji
Dysna
Drukšiai
Strėva
Šešupė
Katra
Gauja
Neris
Berezina
Couronian Gulf
LITHUANIAN BOUNDARIES
from 1920 to 1941
Eastern and southern boundaries, Treaty of Moscow, 1920.
Northern boundary, Treaty with Latvia, 1921.
Western boundary, Treaty of Paris, 1923.
Present boundary established by Russia, 1940.
Demarcation line after Polish invasion, October 1920 to September 1939.
Capital City
District towns
Other towns
Scale 1:2,000,000

Leading clergymen of Tallinn, together with their families, had been arrested and sent to Russia. Even Nicolai Paets, 82 year old brother of the last Estonian president, Konstantin Paets, was not spared. For many years he had been archpriest at the Orthodox cathedral of Tallinn. He is reported to have died while being questioned by the GPU.

The shortage of spiritual guides in Estonia at present is a serious problem. Clergymen are arranging to serve as many churches as possible. Every service held in the Baltic States thus far has filled churches to overflowing, indicating that the reaction to bolshevism has been a spirit of religious revival thruout the three countries.

"Coupled with the dearth of religious leaders, there is also a shortage of school teachers and books. One of the first acts of the communists when they took over Estonia was to destroy textbooks and literature produced under the old government and substitute their own. These have been discarded now and the former books soon will be republished. Many teachers were seized and sent to Russia on charges of teaching ancient Estonian history."

What has been said here about Estonia is also true for Latvia and Lithuania. A report from Rome of October 9, 1941, to the Lithuanian newspapers of Chicago gives twenty one names of the tortured and murdered priests and sixteen deported to Russia. But this is only a small part of liquidated clergymen of all denominations in the Baltic States.

The religious situation in Lithuania has been well summarized in "Chicago Herald-American," October 12, 1941, by Mr. Stanley Pieza, whom we shall quote almost *in extenso:*

"Catholic priests arrested, exiled and murdered. Red soldiers quartered in monastery chapels. Religious teaching from the pulpit forbidden by decree. Communicants terrorized and church property and lands confiscated.

This is the picture of Communist Russia's one-year occupation of Catholic Lithuania as painted by two documents to which the Lithuanian legation in Washington has just called attention.

With Lithuania's fugitive president, Antanas Smetona, in this country, the Washington legation enjoys the practical, if

extra-legal, status of a Lithuanian government in exile. Recently it registered a protest with the American government against incorporation of Lithuania into the Nazi domain as part of the "Ostland," just as it had protested against Russia's invasion in 1940.

In its present action the legation seeks to disabuse American opinion of any thought that Lithuania enjoyed its lot under Communist rule prior to the Nazi invasion.

White Paper Reveals Policy Of Terror

The Lithuanian legation cites the two documents in question as graphic evidence that not only did Soviet Russia ABOLISH religious freedom the moment its armies occupied its tiny neighbor's territory but that it substituted therefore a merciless policy of SUPPRESSION and TERRORISM.

The two documents are an official Lithuanian White Paper issued several months ago by the legation in behalf of the exiled government and The Report on The Catholic Church in Lithuania Under Soviet Russia recently compiled by the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Priests' League of America.

Both reports charge that while freedom of religion was denied to the native population, freedom to extirpate religion was granted to the "Bezbozhniki," Russia's "Militant Society of the Godless." This instrument of the Kremlin operated in Lithuania as a veritable government agency. It sent forth its missionaries to terrorize Marxism into Lithuania's Catholic citizenry.

This was striking at the spirit of the country, for Lithuania's religion has always been close to its heart. The report by the clergy says:

When Lithuania entered the Catholic Church she became one of the furthermost outposts of Catholic culture, hemmed in, as she was, by the hordes on the East, and even to the North. The papacy recognized this strategic position of Lithuania and early in its life in the Catholic Church Lithuania was entrusted with important missions from the Holy See."

Today "of the total population of 3,000,000," continues the report, "it is estimated that 80 per cent are Catholics."

Suppression of religion in Lithuania by Russia's rulers, says the report, was no new historical experience. For a century and a half following the partition of the combined Lithuanian-Polish state, the government of the czars made repeated attempts to extirpate the country's Catholicism. It succeeded only in identifying it in the minds of the inhabitants with their Lithuanian patriotism.

Reds Confiscate Lithuanian Monasteries

Immediately after the Red occupation on June 15, 1940, the report charges, Soviet authorities took similiar steps. As listed the measures were:

1. The seminaries of the Diocese of Vilkaviškis and Telšiai were commandeered by the invading forces.

2. The Bishops of Kaunas, Vilkaviškis and Telšiai were ejected from their residences.

3. The monasteries of the Marians and Franciscans at Marijampolė, Kaunas, Panevėžys, Kretinga, Pajūrys and other places were confiscated and the religious dispersed.

4. The land and property of all churches which provided a source of maintenance of priests and religious were seized, while the monasteries themselves and all suitable structures were converted into dwellings for Russian soldiers, quarters for officers, etc.

Reveal Suppression Of Catholic Agencies

On the heels of these acts, says the report, the following Catholic organizations were suppressed :

1. Catholic Action Center, the counterpart of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States, which served as a clearing house for all Catholic organizations, and which was under the direct supervision of the Hierarchy.

Its executive director, Dr. J. Leimonas was arrested. The newspaper published by the Catholic Action Center, Mūsų Laikraštis (Our Newspaper), was transformed into a Bolshevist organ. It was the most popular Lithuanian weekly and enjoyed a circulation of 70,000.

2. The Youth Federation (Spring Time), active since 1912,

having a membership of 85,000, principally in the rural areas, and which published its own journals.

Place Ban On Catholic Papers

3. Students' Federation (Futurists), dating from 1910; a federation of all classes of students, from high school to university level. From this organization many leaders of Lithuanian life, intellectual, religious, civic, national were recruited. Its monthly review and its daily newspaper, the Twentieth Century, with a circulation of 35,000 were suppressed. Dr. Ignatius Srupskelis, the newspaper's editor, was deported.

4. The Lithuanian Council of Catholic Men, organized only a few years ago, with a membership roll of 30,000.

5. Lithuanian Council of Catholic Women, in existence since the years of the first Russian occupation, with a membership exceeding 60,000; it published a popular magazine, Woman.

6. St. Casimir Press Society, with a record of having published millions of pamphlets, books, journals, etc., and of having introduced Catholic literature into every part of the country.

7. The Society of St. Casimir, established in Vilnius, which had maintained schools, libraries and students' houses of study.

8. The St. Vincent De Paul Society and the Child Jesus Society.

9. The special organization for educating children, called the Angels' Sodality.

Theologians Driven Out, Imprisoned

Meanwhile, the philosophical-theological faculty at the State University, the report charges, was disbanded and the scholars driven out, scattered and imprisoned.

"The religious and devotional press of Lithuania was enviably strong. For instance the monthly magazine of the Capuchin Fathers, 'Lourdes,' enjoyed a total circulation of 110,000; the Jesuits' 'The Star' was read by 35,000; the Franciscans' 'The Bell' had 35,000 readers; and the Marian Fathers' 'The Fountain' had a roll of 12,000 subscribers; while the organ of the Diocese of Panevėžys, 'The Voice of Panevėžys,'

had 10,000 circulation. All of these publications were systematically suppressed."

Printing and publishing establishments, continues the report, were raided and destroyed and the property, funds and physical assets of the Catholic organizations confiscated and assigned to the Communist party or to the commissars of the Red army.

The Lithuanian White Paper, compiled by Col. Povilas Žadeikis, minister to the United States, declares that on Lithuania's Independence Day, February 16, 1941, the Catholics went to their churches to participate in the usual special services.

Red commissars replied by issuing an order forbidding both celebration and services. Priests, students and peasants, it is charged, were arrested by the OGPU.

Refuse Recognition Of Church Marriages

Speaking of other measures to suppress religion, the White paper declares:

A law was introduced refusing recognition of marriages performed by the church.

All military, school, prison and hospital chaplains were removed from their offices.

Preaching in the pulpits was officially classified as "propaganda" and accordingly suppressed.

14. THE GERMAN OCCUPATION AND SEVEN WEEKS' GOVERNMENT

Since the beginning of the thirteenth century the three Baltic nations have waged long wars against the Germans and have come to realize that the purpose of Naziism is similiar to the imperialistic purpose of the Teutonic Orders in the middle ages. The Baltic nations, therefore, viewed the German plans for the East with great distrust and thus, regarded Russia more favorably at the beginning of this war in September, 1939.

On June 15, 1940, Russia violated her many treaties of friendship with the Baltic States and occupied these countries by means of military might and fraud. Even before the fraudulent elections the Russians began the systematic destruction of the intelligentsia, of the progressive citizens and of the wealth of the Baltic nations. The persecution was so brutal that in its attrocity it exceeded all the records of our long history. The opinion of the people in regard to the Russians changed suddenly and radically. They secretly began to organize a mass rebellion. Such a revolt was in the process of organization in Lithuania for approximately ten months.

The Russian-German war begun on June 22, afforded an opportune moment to revolt; but the war was not the prime cause of the revolt. The uprising in Lithuania began on the morning of June 22 and met with success, for that same evening, over the Kaunas radio station which they seized, the partisans declared Lithuania free and independent and announced the formation of a provisional coalition government. A few days later the insurgents seized Vilnius, and by June 29, nearly all the insurgent towns and villages in Lithuania had been cleared of Russians. Participants in the Lithuanian revolt against the Russians consisted of a body of 35,000 organized partisans (former soldiers), together with 90,000 unorganized partisans in the towns and 6,000 Lithuanian soldiers who had been compelled to serve in the red army, a sum total of 131,000 persons. The Russians executed 3,000 Lithuanians who were in concentration camps and prisons; 4,025 Lithuanians died in the uprising against the Russians (mostly in Kaunas) and there were 8,000 wounded, of whom several hundred died.

The most atrocious was the massacre at the concentration camp of Pravieniškės, ten miles east of Kaunas. About these atrocities we read in the White Paper issued recently by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington:

"In the vicinity of Kaunas there was a concentration camp, Pravieniškės, in which about 500 peasants were confined because they had not delivered the imposed requisitions to the Soviets. On June 26 several tanks loaded with GPU men arrived at the camp. The leader of this executionist unit declared that all the prisoners were German sympathizers and bolshevik

enemies and as such they must die. The machine guns immediately opened fire on the defenseless interns. Some of them tried to run away, but were mowed down by the gunfire. Even the prison guards of the camp were not spared. GPU men then entered the administration building, dragged out all the interns and lined them up against the fence with their hands up. Among the interns were several women, one of them pregnant, and another with two young daughters. No mercy was shown even to them. After the first salvo, all fell to the ground: the dead, the injured and the survivors who pretended to be dead, but the executioners, not satisfied with such results, threw hand grenades into the heaps of the dead and wounded. Then several Red agents with bayonets checked the mass of carnage. Any unfortunates who showed signs of life received additional bullets or were bayoneted.

Out of 500 interns in this camp only about 60 were able to save themselves, although some of them died later of injuries. The Lithuanian newspaper "Ukininkų Patarėjas" (The Farmer's Adviser) has published five pictures of the scenes of the horrible episode."

The Significance Of The Lithuanian Uprising.

Because of the suddenness of the Soviet invasion of Lithuania on June 15, 1940, the Lithuanian government was caught unprepared to offer effective armed resistance. This seemingly docile submission to the invading tyrant *hurt Lithuania's national pride. The army's patriotic and professional feelings suffered greatly.* The spirit of resistance to the regime of the invaders was born immediately and mounted daily. But it was the new wave of Soviet pogroms against the local population (June 14-18) that was directly responsible for the uprising. The Lithuanian revolt, therefore, stands as *a condemnation of bolshevistic terror,* of Soviet Russia's land grabbing and its sovietization policy. It was an instinctive recoiling from foreign domination. It indicates that any foreign invasion, from whatever source it may come, has no chance for success. The fact that the Lithuanian revolt against Soviet invaders nearly coincided with the German march against the Soviets does not make the Lithuanian uprising a German affair. The uprising of June 23, 1941, was fundamentally a determined effort of

the Lithuanian masses. It was a desperate cry for freedom, plainly demonstrated by countless examples of heroic patriotism and unselfish sacrifice.

The gains of the uprising were great. It is now known the Russians had planned to deport one and one-half million persons from Lithuania, or one-half of the population of Lithuania. By Stalin's order to scorch the earth, the Russians were to burn all Lithuanian farms and forests, destroy all bridges, factories and more important buildings which the Lithuanians had so laboriously erected during the past twenty years. The rebellious workers and farmers protected their factories and their farms, thus saving Lithuania from annihilation by fire, starvation and the rigors of cold winter.

4,000 to 5,000 insurgent Lithuanians have died in order to protect the lives of hundreds of thousands assigned for deportation and liquidation. The heroic revolt and sacrifice of the Lithuanian youth has saved from destruction two most important cities of Lithuania: Vilnius and Kaunas, where only a few buildings have been destroyed. Vilnius was founded by the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas 1323 and since that date was the capital of Lithuania. For its beautiful baroque architecture it is called "Florence of the North." In Vilnius are concentrated the majority of the Lithuanian historical relics and closely associated with the Lithuanian cultural life and past glories of this country. Kaunas was known by its modern architecture of the period of 1925-39, when many government buildings, private villas and numerous factories were built by the industrious and thrifty generation of resurrected Lithuania. If not this well prepared revolution, the fate of the Lithuanian cities and population would have been the same as in Estonia or Latvia: destruction of property and liquidation of intellectuals.

Finally, by the blood shed by their youth and by unheard of courage (they were armed only with rifles), the Lithuanians honorably proved to the world that they are worthy to live freely in the family of free nations. During the first days of the uprising, through the Kaunas and Vilnius radio stations, they proclaimed to the world that their blood had flowed for *a free and independent Lithuania, and not for the comissars of the Reich.*

The German Attitude

According to the "Tribune de Geneve," German officers admitted that the Lithuanians fought more courageously than the Finns. However, the German radio and press received orders not to divulge any information about Lithuanian heroism and the Lithuanian declaration of independence. This malicious conspiracy succeeded, for the Lithuanian uprising for liberty and independence was almost totally ignored in the press of the world.

The German army reached Kaunas on June 24 and found the new provisional Lithuanian government in office, and the city bedecked with Lithuanian flags. Colonel K. Škirpa, Lithuanian Minister to Berlin, who was elected Prime Minister, was held incommunicado (under home arrest) until July 19. Latest reports state that he is now exiled to Austrian Tyrol. The post of Prime Minister was immediately conferred upon Juozas Ambrazevičius, author and university lecturer, a man of culture and tact who commands sympathy and confidence from many spheres. The German government tolerated the provisional government for seven weeks, gradually narrowing its scope. On August 10 the provisional government was forced to resign. The members of the seven weeks old government, together with many students and a mass of people, placed a wreath on the grave of Lithuania's unknown soldier and protested against Germany's abolition of the independence of Lithuania. Sorrow and the resolution to regain their freedom overcame the Lithuanians of the world.

For twelve months the Russians plundered the Baltic States, preparing the field for the Germans; they hastened to confiscate all farms larger than 70 acres in area, all the better buildings, printing presses, bank deposits, and home furnishings, to burn patriotic books, and to liquidate the intelligentsia. The invading Germans confirmed the Russian confiscations and are not returning to the Lithuanians most of their farms, their homes and some of their factories. The Germans are seizing these properties as loot of war which will aid them in colonizing the Baltic countries. Influential Lithuanian patriots who fled earlier from the Russian terror are not permitted by the Germans to return to Lithuania. Singing of the Lithuanian national anthem and the display of the Lithuanian flag were forbidden. By drastic decrees the Germans are exploiting

Lithuanian farms for the benefit of their army. They have closed the border and do not permit postal nor telegraphic communication with the outside world, except Germany. There are about 10,000 homeless people in Lithuania but there are no means by which they can be given aid.

The eight points of the historic Atlantic meeting have reached the Lithuanian people, and the students in Kaunas, at great risk to themselves, have already held a public demonstration in honor of President Roosevelt. German arms broke up the demonstration. The blood of Lithuanian students, then injured, has already colored the monument of Lithuanian independence.

The sincere desire of all Lithuanians is that the Government and the people of the United States of America should hear of and know of the wrongs inflicted upon Lithuania and its liberty by the warring dictators. This is even more important to those, who are citizens of this sole great and mighty country which has not changed its moral and political stand in regard to the right of all small nations to live a free life, and which did not recognize nor does now recognize any act of gangsterism committed by the three dictatorships against nations of lesser military strength.

15. THE DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES OF THE RUSSIAN AND GERMAN REGIME IN LITHUANIA

At the present time (November, 1941), Lithuania is included by Germany into a large Ostland province, consisting of 200,000 square miles, with a population of 16,000,000 or 17,000,000 people. This Ostland is composed of four nations — Estonia, with its capital at Tallinn; Latvia, with its capital at Riga; Lithuania, with its capital at Vilnius (Vilna) and White Russia, with the capital at Mensk. These four nations form a harmonious geographical unit, with many common interests and mutual sympathies. If such a federation of these four nations were left free without German or Russian interference, certainly it would be approved by the will of the great majority of the people concerned. From the cultural and economic point of view, the German or Russian occupation is not desired by any of these four nations.

Germany has recognized for Lithuania the same boundaries as were established by Russia after the annexation in 1940. These boundaries include little less than the linguistic area of Lithuania, from which Germany separated in 1939 the region of Klaipėda with the only Lithuanian port and 160,000 inhabitants. Also, Germany annexed to East Prussia a large area of Lithuanian origin with the towns of Seinai, Suvalkai, Augustavas and Gardinas (Grodno), with a population of 300,000 inhabitants consisting mostly of Lithuanians, White Russians, Poles, Jews, and very few Germans (about one per cent). The eastern boundary of Lithuania with White Russia has been left as established by the Soviet project, leaving in Lithuania the towns of Druskininkai, Kabeliai, Dubičiai, Eišiškės, Medininkai, Švenčionys, Adutiškis and Tverečius. In these boundaries Lithuania has 62,000 square kilometers or 24,000 square miles, and until the Russian annexation had three million inhabitants, from which about 200,000 were either deported or executed by the Russians. Thus, at the present time, the population of Lithuania is about 2,800,000. Germany divided Lithuania into three geographic provinces — Šiauliai, Kaunas, and Vilnius.

The treatment of the occupied territories by Germany is not based on any generally applied principle. Every nation receives a different treatment, and this is based on its geographical position, and on the degree of German cultural influence in the country. Germany wants to have oval, streamline boundaries in the East, which would be more suitable for her military purposes. Within these boundaries would be included western Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. Therefore, the Czechs, Jews, and Poles are the most undesirable people for Germany and are candidates for elimination from these territories. Germany is planning to settle these territories with purely German people.

Lithuania's geographical position is similiar to that of Slovakia and Hungary; but juridically Lithuania's position under German occupation is a little worse than that of Bohemia, and very similiar to that of central Poland. Actually, however, Lithuania, *being outside of the oval boundaries* of Germany, receives a litle better treatment than the Polish population. In the three Baltic States the situation is not the

same. Germany regards Latvia as her old province, which was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the 13th century. Thus, in Riga and other Latvian cities, the Latvian street names have been changed to German names, while in Lithuanian cities they did not follow the Russian example and did not denationalize local Lithuanian street names.

This can be partly explained by the fact that Germany has never had a chance to conquer and annex Lithuania, or to influence her culturally, and has no historical traditions in Lithuania. But from these facts we cannot conclude that Germany will always treat the Lithuanians any better than the Poles or Latvians. This is only a temporary German calculation, which can be revised by her at any time she sees fit to better her interests. If victory comes easily to Germany, she may increase and intensify her oppression of Lithuania; if her victories are achieved at a heavy price, Lithuania and the other Baltic States can expect better treatment from her.

Taking all factors into consideration, we can make the following comparisons:

UNDER SOVIETS	UNDER NAZIS
1. Complete suppression of the Lithuanian press.	1. Partial restoration of the Lithuanian press with some freedom in cultural and religious affairs.
2. Liquidation of six thousand Lithuanian societies.	2. Germany approved the Soviet liquidation of the Lithuanian organizations.
3. Forbidding all non-communist assemblies and meetings.	3. Nazi policy in forbidding free Lithuanian meetings and assemblies is the same as that of the Soviets.
4. Strict prohibition of any kind of criticism of Soviet policies.	4. Criticism of Nazi policies in Lithuania is somewhat less dangerous.

5. Forbidding the teaching of religion in schools. Suppression of religious societies and publications.	5. Nazis have restored liberty of religious worship and permitted religious publications, but do not allow religious organizations, except parochial administrative organizations and choirs.
6. Forced teaching of the official atheistic religion in all schools including universities and technical schools.	6. Nazi ideology is not obligatory in schools.
7. Closing of all private schools and confiscation of all their property.	7. About private schools, liquidated by the Soviets, nothing is known under the Nazi regime. Probably they were not allowed to be restored.
8. Confiscation of printing shops, buildings, larger farms and factories.	8. Partial restoration to private ownership of smaller properties, printing shops, buildings, farms and factories.
9. Prohibiting all employees to change their occupation, or to seek work in other establishments of the same kind.	9. Considerable freedom in choice of profession and occupation. Better wages for workmen.
10. Terrorism applied to hundreds of thousands.	10. Terrorism was limited under the Nazis and is applied to a very few open offenders to the German new order.

The deep despair of the people, and above all, the terror and atrocities, unheard of in Lithuanian history, directed not only at exclusive statesmen, but at hundreds of thousands of influential citizens without any guilt on their part, forces us to qualify the Soviet regime in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as a *complete slavery in the true sense of the word.* And, in the Baltic States, especially in Lithuania, such mass slavery, even before a thousand years, had never existed. The only instance ancient Lithuanian history gives us is the enslavement of small numbers of war prisoners. Thus, the introduction of the Soviet regime in the Baltic States transferred those people several thousand years back to the centuries when pyramids were built, also to the noble cause of that age. So in our day the Communists, introducing real slavery, designate it by attractive names and justify it by noble aims.

The Nazi regime, after liquidating the provisional government of Lithuania in Aug., 1941, permitted the Lithuanians to publish their newspapers, with one additional German page, under strict German political censorship, allowing some liberty to treat freely cultural and religious problems, which were prohibited by the Soviet regime. Yet, the Nazis continue to follow the one-party regime of the Soviets, permitting only the Nazi-controlled activities of a small Lithuanian nationalist party. But they do not permit any political criticism or free political organization; only firemen's societies are allowed to develop some social activities.

The Nazi regime has restored the liberty to practise and teach any Christian religion in churches and schools, and also to broadcast religious services from the cathedrals of Kaunas and Vilnius. The Nazi regime has abolished the Soviet ban on the singing of patriotic songs, with the exception of national anthems.

Under the Nazis nearly all Lithuanian schools are open, and are operating practically with the same staff of teachers as during her independence. The universities of Vilnius and Kaunas as well as other institutions of high learning are operating with about one half of their staff of professors which the Soviet regime had no time to liquidate. But in these universities and institutes the first two semesters are closed for the students: it seems that the Germans intend to permit

only those students who started their studies before October 1940 to finish their studies. It is very possible that all universities in Lithuania will be banned in several years. So far the Nazis have not emulated the Soviet example and have not introduced into the educational program the Nazi ideology as a corner stone of all education. But they do follow the Soviet example in forcing and propagating their language among the Lithuanians. During the twelve months of Soviet occupation, the bolsheviks have forced all Lithuanian school pupils, students and government servants, to learn the Russian language. Analogically, the Nazis are everywhere forcing the German language on the inhabitants. Thus, nearly all Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian intellectuals will become at least trilingual. But the national consciousness, general culture and literature of these three nations are at such a high level, that the period of one generation is too short to attempt to replace their national languages even by a powerful neighbor's language.

The nationalization of the property by the Soviets is also very convenient to the Nazis, for herein they find an excuse to take that property over for the purpose of German colonization in the Baltic. Technically, it belongs to the government, therefore there is no question of compensation involved. Thus, the better lands, buildings and factories are available for distribution among the most active Nazi members. While the Soviet policy is to nationalize even the smallest parcel of real estate, the Nazis permit many exceptions in the Baltic States, especially in the case of all proprietors of smaller farms, factories and enterprises in which not more than twenty people are employed. In such instances, properties are given back to their old proprietors.

Compulsory labor, introduced by the Soviets, is largely maintained by the Nazis also, but they give more liberty in making a choice of the profession and the place of employment. The disorderly Soviets benefited very little from their policy of compulsory labor. The Nazi organization is much more systematic and efficient, and they expect, through the mediums of forced labor, the control of production and consumption, and other food and clothing restrictions, to get larger quantities of

food even during the first year of occupation. During the period of 1941-42, Germany will get from Lithuania alone

150,000 tons of grain
250,000 tons of potatoes
70,000 tons of meat
70,000 tons of hard fodder
10,000 tons of straw
14,000 tons of butter
large quantities of eggs
wood, good flax and other materials.

The Nazis have returned small farms to their owners, are paying a low price for farm products, but, perhaps most important, *are furnishing various fertilizers and farming machinery to the farmers.* Perhaps this governmental aid will help increase farm production in the Baltic States. The Soviets, due to poor railroad facilities, did not furnish any mineral fertilizers to the farmers. Farm production decreased alarmingly, because of the continual depletion of the soil.

But the fundamental and most important difference between the Nazi and the Soviet regimes in the Baltic States is the comparison of the characteristic terrorization of the people by each of these aggressors. The Soviets introduced a reign of terror which affected millions of people. During a period of twelve months they liquidated thousands of people, especially people of any prominence. And this liquidation grew at a CRESCENDO pace. During the first four months of occupation, the Nazis liquidated the insurgent party, which in a few months had prepared the revolt against Russia and declared the regaining of Lithuania's Independence on June 22-23, 1941. The Nazis confiscated all the property of this organization, and arrested several of its leaders. This young organization was composed of several large Lithuanian parties — Catholic, Liberal, Socialist and partly nationalist. The entire nation wholeheartedly supported the aim of this organization, the Independence of Lithuania. However, this attitude of the Lithuanian people was deemed harmful to Nazi policy. Whether any one of the party leaders have been executed, we do not yet know.

The Nazis occupied the Baltic States after twelve months of great terror, during which time the Russians had liquidated about one-half of the educated class and many thousands of socially active farmers and laborers. Thus, the Communists

began and the Nazis continued, to crush the morals of these nations, and created a spirit of fear and subservience among the people. These circumstances were advantageous to the Nazi regime, as they invaded countries already disciplined and humiliated by the continuous bloody purges and liquidations by the Soviets. The Baltic States have sacrificed from five to seven per cent of their population for the cause of democracy. In proportion, this sacrifice of the Baltic States is at least ten times greater than that of the British and French in this war, including the losses of property and people.

If bolshevik imperialism in the fall of 1939 had remained within its boundaries, the small armies of these Baltic States, assisted by civilians and reserves, would have opposed any Nazi aggression, and would have been instrumental in slowing up the Nazi drive on Leningrad and Smolensk. And most important of all, Russian prestige would not have been stained by the blood of the innocent Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, and Rumanians. Rumania and Finland would not now be fighting what is considered by the Allies as a pro-Axis battle. Millions of free people in the world would still believe that Russia does not seek to invade any territories, and that she is a peace-loving nation. But the stupid lack of foresight and the pro-Nazi opportunism has destroyed the sympathies of the free people for Russia, and her honor has been lost.

As some people hunt for wild animals and enjoy torturing them before they are killed, so did the Soviets, during the twelve months of their reign of terror, treat the people of the Baltic States along these lines. There were no exceptions and no limits to the inhumanity of this general law of torture.

If we were to compare the Soviet regime with slavery, the Nazi regime can be compared with serfdom, which was eliminated by Czar Alexander II eighty years ago. The Nazis regard the suppressed nations as productive domestic animals, whose future existence is important for only one reason — that they produce for their masters.

Slavery before several hundred years, or serfdom before eighty years, cannot be compared with the present Communist-Nazi order. In the early days people had never tasted the modern comforts of radios, newspapers, organizations, better

food, clothes and better housing facilities and liberty of conscience. They did not know the sweetness of these things, and therefore, they did not miss them. People in the Baltic States are accustomed to living according to the modern age, even though they are not rich; they have enjoyed many modern conveniences and the spiritual comforts of free people. Consequently, the return of these people to a reestablished Soviet slavery and Nazi serfdom cannot satisfy even the smallest requirements of the Baltic nations. It is only natural to expect, therefore, that these nations will avail themselves of the first opportunity to rid themselves of the Nazi invaders. For sabotage of the Nazi order, three Lithuanians have already been executed in Šiauliai and several in Mažeikiai. And these perhaps are not the first. When the German military machine will lose its greatest strength and vigor, certainly there will be some chance for a new revolt in the Baltic States, similiar to that of the one against Russia in June 1941. In the field of higher culture, these three nations have produced great spiritual treasures, crowned their scientific efforts with important universities, national encyclopedias, and a great wealth of arts and literature. They are passionately attached to the free and creative Western European civilization. They will never renounce their independence, their free traditions, and they will not accept the protectorate of barbarian dictatorships, and they will never cease to insist *that it is bad to be a slave, but it is even worse to be a slave of a slave.*

16. THE HOPES OF RESURRECTION.

The leaders of the Baltic nations well understand that post-war Europe will try to diminish national isolation. Recognizing the spirit of the century, the three Baltic nations will themselves work for and contribute to a better order in Europe. They will be a firm architectural factor in building the freedom and security of the new Europe. Since 1934, there has been an increasing tendency towards closer economic and cultural collaboration of the Baltic nations with the Scandinavian states. And today there is increasing evidence of a movement towards a confederation of Baltoscandia, consisting of eight nations — Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. The very geography, the

connecting and uniting Baltic Sea speaks for this natural line and *harmonious Thalassocracy of Baltoscandia, or Dominium maris Baltici.*

Geographically and culturally, the Baltic states belong to northwestern Europe, but have a harmonious proximity to Central Europe. If there should be the possibility of organizing a Central European association of nations, the Baltic states must seriously consider an economic, political and defensive alliance with this bloc, which is in the process of crystalization on the basis of a Polish-Czecho-Slovak agreement signed in London, November 11, 1940. The most tragic development for the Baltic states would be a union with Eastern Europe, which in reality is composed only of Russia. Union with the East would mean a considerable lowering of the standard of living, vanishing of liberties, and cultural misery. From these negative atributes even Russia cannot liberate herself, as she is of enormous geographical size, with a population of passive character and limited energy, too much attached to the spirit of anarchy and atheistic dogmatism, which is a new type of orthodoxy. The real prosperity of Russia could begin only in smaller areas. The tremendous territorial expansion of Russia and its immense natural wealth induces the passive Russian people to inertia, negligence, disorder, complacency, and laziness. And it seems there is no immediate remedy for these imperfections. Furthermore, Russia would be unable to respect and appreciate the Western civilization, the Gothic and Baroque style, and the liberal mentality of the Baltic people. It would be a political crime to separate the Baltic from the Western European family of nations, with whom the Baltic is united by the strongest, steadfast ties of Western culture and sympathies.

Mr. Erich R. Sarw, former Editor of the Estonian Telegraphic Agency, has published in "Free Europe" (London, September 19, 1941) an article on "The Future of the Baltic States" which we quote here in extenso as it also represents the opinion of the Lithuanian and Latvian political leaders:

While the Soviet Union and Germany are locked in mortal combat we may well ask what is the attitude of the peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania? What are they doing? These seven million people are forced into the tragic role of spectators

in a struggle which is ravaging their fields and towns. For them it is only a choice between the devil and his grandmother; to neither Germany nor Russia do they confidently feel that they may look for a restoration of their national independence.

It is easy enough to argue that these nations should, without hesitation, take up arms against the arch-enemy of mankind. Let us, however, examine the situation from their point of view. Their relations with the U.S.S.R. are the factor dominating their lives. By word and deed they have proved that they wish these relations to be good. Yet in spite of this, a tragic situation arose, not of their own seeking. Their eastern neighbour acted in a manner which could only be branded by the victims as aggresion. And now from the west their age-long enemy has descended on them, more ruthless than ever in his new Nazi guise.

Formerly the Baltic Barons, those precursors of the Nazis, had enslaved their forefathers, and the heritage of hate thus created has survived down to the present generation. It was intensified by their personal experience of the German occupation of the Baltic lands in 1918-19, when the Germans proved themselves lineal descendants of the "Iron Knights" of yore. The final bitter experience was the occupation of their lands by Russia. In spite of so-called "popular demand" for incorporation it is incontrovertible that the vast majority of their people wanted to remain free citizens of independent States. Now the loathed German hordes have overrun their lands, proclaiming that they would "liberate" these small nations and restore their independence. But the anti-Bolshevik crusade has evoked little enthusiasm among the Balts who consider that they are the only rightful owners of land.

As things now stand, a Soviet victory means for them a return to the conditions created by the occupation of their countries a year ago. A German victory means a return to the slavery under which their forefathers suffered. Either condition is intolerable to peoples that have lived and worked for centuries for the freedom and independence of their country.

The occupation of the Baltic States may have been considered by the Kremlin as a military measure against an

anticipated attack by Germany. However, it seems that better results would have been achieved had Moscow, instead of incorporating these lands in the U.S.S.R., helped them to strengthen their own defenses and thus given reality to the doctrine of collective security preached by many Soviet statesmen. The issue would have been clear for the Baltic peoples. German aggression would at once have made them the allies of the anti-Hitler forces, and they would have defended their lands as independent States by the side of their great neighbour.

Today the situation of the Baltic States is desperate. Their problem must eventually be solved. The sooner it is done the better for all concerned. These Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, who have always been good fighters, will go on fighting both sides with bare fists, for their weapons have been taken from them.

To free the world of German totalitarianism, to make it safe for democracy and to make it possible for all nations, large and small, to live their own lives freely and independently — these are the declared war aims of the British Empire. They have been endorsed by America, and have now become the proclaimed war aims of the Soviet Union.

A declaration by the Soviet Government, even at this late hour, that the Peace Treaties of 1920 with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would form the basis of future relations and that the arrangements of the last few months had been dictated by military considerations, would bring a ray of hope into the lives of seven million people; it would create a popular rising against the German invader. It would also take the wind out of the sails of German propaganda and thwart their preparations to set up puppet Governments with possible Quislings now waiting for orders in Berlin or Switzerland.

A declaration restoring the independence of these States would win over Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians in North and South America, most of whom are now anti-Russian. It would have a stimulating effect on all the others engaged in this battle for freedom when they see the anti-German front consolidating not only in the military field but also in the spiritual. A number of Baltic statesmen of the former regime are at present in the Soviet Union, in the United States and

in other countries. Their names carry great weight at home. An understanding between them and Russia is bound to produce immediate repercussions. It is now for Russia to clear the way for a further strengthening of the Grand Alliance."

* * *

During the first few months of Russian occupation, when boundaries were not so strictly watched, a few hundred Lithuanians, some Latvians and Estonians managed to escape in spite of great danger and difficulties to Germany, Sweden and Finland. A small part of these refugees later passed to Switzerland and several dozen to the United States and South America. Among the Lithuanian refugees there are five university professors, several generals, diplomats, writers and a number of state officials. Their dream is to get in contact with their friends and relatives in America and to unite with them in a common task of liberating their countries.

Future prospects for the Lithuanians are a little better than for Latvians or Estonians because Lithuanians, like the Irish, are not confined to the limited Baltic region, but since the middle of the 19th century have spread all over the world. There are 650,000 in the U.S.A., over 150,000 in Germany, 80,000 in South America, 20,000 in Great Britain, 7,000 in Canada, and several thousand in Australia, South Africa, China, and Manchuko. During the World War of 1914-18, these emigrants contributed more than one million dollars for the restoration of independence of the old Lithuanian State and have used all their influence for that cause in all parts of the world. This precedent will be followed now. Twenty years ago Lithuanians of America sent a copy of the American Liberty Bell to Lithuania. This bell was installed with great ceremony in the tower of the War Museum at Kaunas. This symbolic gift means that the Lithuanians of America wish to their Old Country the same freedom and order that they themselves enjoy in their new beloved country of liberty.

All three Lithuanian ideological groups (Catholic, Socialist and Liberal), representing about 90% of the Lithuanians in North America, organized in October, 1940, a united committee for the restoration of Independent Lithuania. In the reception

accorded this committee on October 15, President Roosevelt declared that after the war certainly independence and freedom will be restored to Lithuania. This consolation assured for Mr. Roosevelt the warmest place in the hearts of all Lithuanians on all continents. April 18, 1941, President Roosevelt again strongly assured the President of Lithuania, Mr. A. Smetona, of American support for the Lithuanian independence.

Thirty-four Lithuanian newspapers and over two thousand societies in the United States, half a dozen of their newspapers in Argentina and Brazil, and some publications in Europe will keep the spirit of independence living among the Lithuanians of the world.

Lithuanian legations and consulates are still recognized and kept working in the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Vatican, Canada, Great Britain, France, Switzerland and in some other countries not allied with Germany. Lithuanians realize perfectly well that their influence and modest means will not suffice to restore Lithuania's freedom. They will be allies and friends with any power which will resist the imperialism of the German and Soviet dictatorships. It is difficult to blame the little sparrow for an alliance with any bird which is an enemy of the hawk. The little bird also wants to live and to have his little nest for the stormy day. And the little sparrow has his own common sense for safety and his strategy to defend his rights in the struggle for survival. He will try to find some friends who have a taste for the love of little creatures.

The two dictators believe that their military Juggernauts will crush the spirit of the people, and that a reign of fear and terror can effectively sear every vestige of love of freedom out of the soul of man. But freedom is a treasure of infinite value, which inspires even the most abused and chain-laden slave to hope. When the force of the machinery of war and the reign of dreaded secret police is spent, the aspiration to freedom will rise again in all its power.

Then all small, cultured nations, through their tremendous sacrifices for the cause of freedom, will have merited the admiration and recognition of the world's strongest democracies. *Powerful nations have no right to call themselves great if they do not protect the independence of small nations.* We believe

that the United States will want to continue its reputation as a great nation. President Roosevelt's assurance of faith in and the right to freedom for Lithuania will be supported by his actions.

The United States will not ignore the cause of the Baltic nations in the future. For the present, the United States government is maintaining a diplomatic silence on the Baltic question, in order not to hinder the cause of beleaguered Russia, which indirectly is helping the democracies in their fight against Hitler.

In the coming World Peace Conference, the most important participants will be the United States, Great Britain and Russia, and of these three, the United States will unquestionably be the leader. This country will be the least affected and weakened by war, it will have a powerful army, and most important of all, its neutral position and faithfulness to the principles of freedom will give it the greatest authority to speak without prejudice. All small nations will appeal to the United States for justice, while political shysters of Stalin's type will attempt to deceive her. However, this will not be as easy as it was in Wilson's time: the United States, being much more powerful, will follow a much more cautious and studied policy.

Lithuania remained independent for one thousand years before 1795. In this same spirit of independence the Baltic nations developed and progressed from 1918 to 1940. How, then, can any one offer the preposterous suggestion that these liberal, highly cultured, patriotic people could become accustomed — in one year's time — to the disorder and tyranny of the new order imposed by GPU and Gestapo gangsters?

If, during the chaotic years of 1918-1920, and while fighting on several fronts, the Baltic States were able, in a short time, to organize their own governments, armies, and to build sturdy financial and economic structures, there is all the more reason to believe that they will be able to reorganize themselves much more easily during th crucial post-war period of 1943-44.

If we believe — as all of the peace and freedom-loving world firmly does — in the eventual destruction of totalitarianism, then we must necessarily believe in the resurrection of the Baltic States. Simple logic leaves us no other alternative.

NOTE ON PLACE—NAMES

After the declaration of Independence 1918, place-names, many centuries old, have been restored to their original form in all the Baltic States. These original forms are used not only in the national maps and documents of the Baltic nations, but also they are gaining place on the maps of many competent foreign institutions, such as the maps of the National Geographic Society of America.

For convenience, a list of the original old names of important places is given as compared with the nicknames given to them by the neighboring nations:

In Estonia:	*Original Estonian*:	*German*:	*Russian*:
Islands	Hiiu	Dago	Dago
"	Muhu	Moon	Mone
"	Saare	Oesel	Ezel
"	Vormsi	Worms	Vorms
Cities:	Paldiski	Baltisch Port	Baltisky
"	Kuresaare	Arensburg	Arensburg
"	Parnu	Pernau	Pernov
"	Tallinn	Reval	Revel
"	Tartu	Dorpat	Yuriev

In Latvia:	*Original Latvian*:	*German*:	*Russian*:
Rivers:	Daugava	Duna	Dvina
"	Lielupe	Aa	
"	Venta	Windau	Vindava
Cities :	Cėsis	Wenden	Venden
"	Daugavpils	Dunaburg	Dvinsk
"	Jelgava	Mitau	Mitava
"	Liepaja	Libau	Libava
"	Valga	Walk	
"	Ventspils	Windau	Vindava
Provinces:	Kurzeme	Kurland	Kurlandia
"	Latgale	Lettgallen	Latgalia
"	Zemgale	Semgallen	Semigalia
"	Vidzeme	Livland	Liflandia

In Lithuania:

	Original Lithuanian:	*German:*	*Russian:*
Rivers:	Dubysa	Dubissa	Dubissa
"	Nemunas	Memel	Nieman
"	Neris	Wilija	Vilia
Cities:	Alytus	Olita	Olita
"	Ašmena	Oszmiana	Oshmyana
"	Gardinas	Grodno	Grodna
"	Suvalkai	Suwalki	Suvalki
"	Kaunas	Kauen, Kowno	Kovna
"	Vilnius	Wilno	Vilna
"	Klaipėda	Memel	Klaipėda and Memel
"	Panevėžys	Poniewież	Ponieviezh
"	Šiauliai	Schawli	Shavli
"	Lyda	Lida	Lida
"	Telšiai	Telsche	Telshi
"	Tilžė	Tilsit	Tilzit
"	Gumbinė	Gumbinen	Gumbinen
	Įsrutis	Insterburg	Insterburg

Area, Population and Density of the Baltic States

(Estimate for 1941)

	Area (sq. km.)	Population	Density per sq. km.	Average increase of population 1935-37
Estonia	47,549	1,135,000	24	1.0 per thousand
Latvia	65,791	1,990,000	31	3.6 per thousand
Lithuania	88,111	4,080,000	45	9.8 per thousand

The area and population of Lithuania are given in her ethnographic boundaries recognized by the Treaty of Moscow 1920 and by the Treaty of Paris, May 17, 1924; these boundaries have never been fully realized. The Soviet Lithuania (before June 22, 1941) embraced about 62,000 sq. km. and population of 2,980,000 with its capital city at Vilnius.

Population Of Important Cities

(Estimate for January, 1941)

IN ESTONIA:		IN LITHUANIA:	
Tallinn (capital)	150,000	Vilnius (capital)	210,000
Tartu	55,000	Kaunas	120,000
Parnu	21,000	Gardinas	51,000
IN LATVIA:		Klaipėda	50,000
Riga (capital)	400,000	Šiauliai	27,000
Liepaja	60,000	Panevėžys	25,000
Daugavpils	50,000	Suvalkai	23,000
Jelgava	37,000	Lyda	20,000

According to reports in the present war, Tallinn, Riga, Jelgava, and many other Estonian and Latvian cities were greatly destroyed. In Lithuania, Šiauliai, Gardinas, Vilkaviškis, Marijampolė and several smaller towns suffered most, but the capital city of Vilnius with its old historical buildings and industrial center of Kaunas both were saved by the Lithuanian revolt of June 22-29 and were taken by Lithuanians from Russians with bayonets and rifles.

Religion Of The Baltic States (1935-38)

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania *)
Roman Catholic	0.2%	24.4%	80.0%
Lutheran	78.0%	55.2%	5.5%
Greek Orthodox	19.1%	9.0%	5.0%
Jewish	0.3%	4.8%	8.0%
Other	2.4%	6.6%	1.5%

*) Including Vilnius region and Klaipėda.

Unemployment In The Baltic States 1937

Estonia 1000, Latvia 3,000, Lithuania 3,000.

Agricultural Production Of The Baltic States 1937

(Metric tons)

	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania *)
Rye	212,000	421,000	607,000
Oats	139,000	405,000	388,000
Barley	81,000	218,000	274,000
Wheat	76,000	171,000	221,000
Potatoes	986,000	1,782,000	2,510,000

*) Lithuania without the region of Vilnius, i. e. territory of 56,000 sq. km. and 2,500,000 inhabitants.

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